THE

HISTORY OF INDIA,

AS TOLD

BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

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IV.

TA'JU-L MA-A'SIR,

OF

HASAN NIZA'MI'.

This celebrated work is devoted chiefly to the history of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, but it also contains portions of the history of his predecessor Muhammad Ghází, and his successor, Shamsu-d dín Altamsh, but without any notice of A'rám, the son and immediate successor of Kutbu-d dín. The name of Táju-l Ma-ásir is nowhere given to the work by the author himself, but it has never been known by any other name from the earliest period. It means "The Crown of Exploits." Titles similar to this are common in Asiatic literature, the most celebrated being the *Táju-t Tawáríkh* of the Turkish historian Sa'du-d dín Muhammad, better known as Khwája Effendi, "the Prince of Ottoman Historians."[1] Considering that the historical portion of this work is devoted exclusively to India, it enjoys a wide reputation throughout the Eastern Muhammadan world; which is ascribable less to the subject of the history than to the peculiar mode of its treatment. This has already been brought to the knowledge of European scholars by a very good account which has been given of the work by Hammer, in his life of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, contained in the *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen grosser Moslemischer Herrscher*, (Vol. iv. pp. 172-182). He re-

[1] A. L. David's *Grammar of the Turkish Language*, p. 1, where there is a long extract given from the work. More may be found respecting the author and the work in the *Biographie Univ.* Vol. xxxix. p. 399; the *Penny Cyclopædia*, Vol. xx. p. 292, and the *Geschichte d. Ottom.* Other works with the title of "Tâj" are noticed, but with some omissions, by Hâjí Khalfa; *Lexicon Biblio.* Vol. ii. pp. 91-4.

marks that Kutbu-d dín would probably have been enrolled among other conquerors of whom history is silent, had not Hasan Nizámí of Lahore, the writer of the *Táju-l Ma-ásir*, entered into competition with Sábí the historian of Kábas, and 'Utbí the historian of Subuktigín and Mahmúd. This is paying too great a compliment to the historical value of the work, for the simple style of the *Tabakát-i Násiri*, a work nearly contemporaneous, was much better adapted to rescue from oblivion the exploits ot Kutbu-d dín, who receives his due share of notice in that history.

The *Táju-l Ma-ásir* is in fact exceedingly poor in historical details, though the period of which it treats is one of the most interesting in the history of Asia,—that of the first permanent establishment of the Muhammadan power in India. In contains, according to Hammer's enumeration, twelve thousand lines, of which no less than seven thousand consist of verse, both Arabic and Persian. It is swelled out to this unnecessary magnitude by the introduction of tedious and meaningless descriptions and digressions, which amount to not less than an hundred in the first half of the work. M. Hammer considers that there are fewer in the second, as the descriptive faculty seems to have been exhausted; but this apparent barrenness is occasioned more by the omission of the marginal notes indicating their recurrence, than by any exhaustion of the author's power, which flows on to the end in an even strain of eloquence, which is perfectly marvellous for its abundance, continuity, and fantasticness. It is produced apparently with but little effort, leaving us to regret that the author should have admitted into an historical work so much rhapsodical and tropological stuff, which is of little use except to show his powers of fancy and invention. It is, however, this which constitutes its value in the estimation of oriental writers, who to this day are fond of attempting imitations, without any of the richly exuberant vein of Hasan Nizámí.

Towards the close, indeed, there is a new variety of illustration, which makes it appear that the descriptions are fewer. But though fewer, they are much longer, for here the author occa-

sionally introduces a subordinate series of descriptions, or *sifats*, within one leading subject. For instance, in the second half we have images derived from mirrors, pens, and chess, each running on for many pages, but all containing several minor descriptions referrible, as it were, to those chief subjects. Here also we are introduced to new conceits, where whole sentences and pages are made to consist of nothing but sibilants and labials. Even the death of Muhammad Ghází is not sufficient to repress the gaiety of his imagination, for we are told that, "*one* or *two* men out of the *three* or *four* conspirators, inflicted *five* or *six* wounds upon the lord of the *seven* climes, and his spirit flew above the *eight* paradises and the *nine* heavens, and joined those of the *ten* Evangelists."

Some of the passages where these descriptions are introduced are noticed in the following abstract, showing that they are derived from anything in heaven or earth, as the prolific fancy of the author may suggest. The *Gemäldesaal* has given the following classified distribution of them:—Of nature, its elements and phenomena,—fire, water, heat, cold, lightning, thunder, rain, snow, the sea, the desert, fields, woods, meadows, and gardens. Of seasons,—day, morning, evening, night, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Of flowers,—the rose, the tulip, the basilicon, the jasmin, the lily, the narcissus, the violet, the lotus, the hyacinth, the anemone. Of fruits,—the pomegranate, the apple, the orange, the citron. Of beasts,—the lion, the serpent, the elephant, the horse, the camel, the lynx, the falcon, the peacock, the dog. Of war and its appurtenances,—the contending armies, arrows, bows, clubs, lances, spears, daggers, and spoils. Of musical instruments,—kettle-drums, viols, tymbals, and barbytons. Of beautiful women,—cheeks, hair, curls, eyes, and moles. Of festivals and their appurtenances,— cup-bearers, singers, bowls, wines, and fire-pans; and lastly, pens, physicians, and learned men. Most of these have been given in the following abstract in the order in which they occur, and they by no means include the whole series introduced by the author.

The reader may satisfy himself of the nature of these descriptions by reading the commencement of one devoted to the sword, which he will find in the abstract under "The Conquest of Gwáliár." If he should be desirous of seeing the conclusion of it, he will find it in the *Gemäldesaal*, pp. 178, 179.

There is but little related of the author by biographers, and all we know of him is to be ascertained only from his own account in the preface of the *Táju-l Ma-ásir*. He gives his own name as Hasan Nizámí simply. Mírkhond in his preface, and Hájí Khalfa (No. 2051), call him Sadru-d dín Muhammad bin Hasan Nizámí, and so he is styled by Abú-l Fazl, in an untranslated chapter of the *Ayin-i Akbari*. Hammer calls him Hasan Nizámí of Lahore, but that was neither his birthplace nor chief residence.

Hasan Nizámí was born at Naishápúr, and he tells us that he never dreamt of travelling abroad, until the troubles of his native country of Khurásán induced him to seek a residence elsewhere. Another cause was that no regard was paid to learning, in consequence of these distractions, and that ignorant and envious men were seeking to injure him, for it is a matter of common observation that "the wise are rarely regarded in their own country."[1]

He for a long time entertained the thought of leaving his country before he could put it into execution, and at last, when the disorders of which he complains had reached their climax, and he himself was reduced to the greatest distress, "in the very prime of manhood, and before his hair began to turn gray," he left his native city, notwithstanding the continued remonstrances of his friends, to which he had yielded for some time. He set out for Ghazní, at the suggestion of Shaikh Muhammad Káfí, and on his arrival at that capital, after being delayed by a severe

[1] This resembles the Hindí proverb, *Apne gánw ká jogí, an gánw ká sidh.* "The jogí of his own village is a deity in another," and our Saviour when he says, "A prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and in his own house," is merely repeating a common Asiatic proverb.

attack of fever on the road, he made several agreeable acquaintances amongst the learned, and after a short time departed in company with some of his new friends for Dehli, "the country of mercy and the altar of wealth.—The reins of choice were given to his horse, the traverser of deserts and the passer of hills.—The heat of the fiery blast opened the very gates of hell, and the wild beasts of the mountain and deserts sought for the shade of trees.—The boughs of the jungle were so closely interlaced, that the wind in the midst of them was confined like a bird in a cage.—A tiger was seen in every forest.—In every ravine and plain poisonous serpents were met with.—It came into his thoughts, will the boat of his life ever reach the shore of safety?—The crow-like Hindús had intercepted the roads, and in the rapidity of their movements exceeded the wild ass and the deer, you might say they were demons in human form, and covered with blackness."

Having escaped from all these dangers, he arrived at Dehli, and paid his respects to the Chief Judge, Sharfu-l Mulk, and was received with great kindness. After he had resided for some time in this city, his friends recommended him to write something in the shape of contemporary history, "for the purpose of ascertaining the powers of his style;" and as the king had about that time issued orders that an account of his victories should be recorded, Hasan Nizámí determined to engage himself upon that particular subject.

With regard to the dedication of his work, Hammer informs us (*Gemäld.*, iv. 174), that "this history of Kutbu-d dín Aibak, was composed by Nizámí, his contemporary, as early as twelve years after his death, for Muhammad bin Sám bin Husain, the ruler of Lahore, who styled himself 'Násir-i Amíru-l Muminín, helper of the prince of the believers.' Nizámí of Lahore, a slave of Muhammad bin Sám, wrote this history for his master, who being an admirer of the great achievements of Aibak, took them for the model and rule of his reign."

There is evidently a great misapprehension here respecting

Muhammad bin Sám, who is no other than the famous Muhammad Ghorí, the master of Kutbu-d dín Aibak. Muhammad Ghorí died before Kutbu-d dín reigned, and he could not therefore have taken his own slave for his great exemplar. What the author really says regarding this potentate is this: After dwelling on the advantage and necessity of holy wars, without which the fold of Muhammad's flock could never be filled, he says that such a hero as these obligations of religion require has been found, "during the reign of the lord of the world Mu'izzu-d dunýá wau-d dín, the Sultán of Sultáns, Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám bin Husain, in the person of the puissant Sultán, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of the planets, the pole of the world and religion, the pillar of Islám and Musulmáns, the asylum of princes and sultáns, the destroyer of infidels and plural-worshippers, etc., the Khusrú of Hindustan, Abú-l háris Aibak the Sultán," and that "Almighty God had selected him from amongst the kings and emperors of the time," for he had employed himself in extirpating the enemies of religion and the state, and had deluged the land of Hind with the blood of their hearts, so that to the very day of resurrection travellers would have to pass over pools of gore in boats,—had taken every fort and stronghold which he attacked, and ground its foundations and pillars to powder under the feet of fierce and gigantic elephants,—had made the heads of crowned Ráís crown the top of impaling posts,—had sent the whole world of idolatry to the fire of hell, by the well-watered blade of his Hindí sword,—had founded mosques and colleges in the places of images and idols,—and had made the names of Naushírwán, Rustam, and Hátim Táí to be forgotten." Such was the hero to the record of whose achievements the work was principally dedicated.

The *Táju-l Ma-ásir* was commenced in the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.), in the eighth month of which (Sha'bán) Muhammad Ghorí died, and it is evident that it was begun before his death, because the preface, which, however unusual, was really composed at the beginning, and not the conclusion of the work, contains a prayer

for the prolongation of his life and the prosperity of his kingdom.

The history opens with the transactions of the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.), when Muhammad Ghorí undertook his expedition to India to retrieve the dreadful disaster he had a short time before experienced on the field of Náráin, near Thánesar, to which, however the courtly historian makes no allusion. The copies ordinarily to be met with carry the history down to the year 614 H. (1217 A.D.), or seven years after the death of Kutbu-d dín, and at the close of that portion the author indulges in a panegyric on his own work, in which he invites the reigning monarch Shamsu-d dín, the second Alexander, to compare his work with those of other celebrated historians, and he will see that it is "superior to anything written by ancients or moderns," and he concludes by saying, that if his life is spared, he will continue the work in the same manner. That he did so continue it is evident from a very valuable copy in the possession of Nawwáb Ziáu-d dín of Dehli, written as early as the ear 779 H. (1377-8 A.D.) in the *Naskh* character styled *Hijjázi*. In this, though itself imperfect at the end, we have the history carried down even twelve years later, or to 626 H. (1228-9 A.D.), and it is not improbable that it might have been prolonged to the close of Shamsu-d dín's reign, or seven years later than this period. From the general meagreness of historical details, it cannot be said that this deficient portion is worth much enquiry.

Beyond the praise which the author bestows upon his heroes, there is nothing to indicate that he was contemporary with the events which he describes, and the absence of all particulars, as well as a certain confusion and indistinctness about some of the dates, show that he was no active participator in any of his patrons' campaigns. It is singularly strange that he says nothing of the transactions of Kutbu-d dín's actual reign, for the same short chapter records his accession and his death.

The following abstract contains all that is of the remotest historical interest in the work, no name or event being omitted.

The passages between inverted commas imply that the words of the original have been translated, but even in these many intermediate words, such as synonyms and reduplications of the same expression, have been omitted, and it has been considered sufficient to group together words and phrases, which, though actually to be found in the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* do not in the translation preserve the exact order of the original. The passages in the first chapter, which are printed in italics indicate that they are written in Arabic, and nearly the same proportion of Arabic occurs throughout the work, showing that, without a knowledge of that language, it would be impossible to understand thoroughly the *Táju-l Ma-ásir.*

The *Táju-l Ma-ásir* is rare in Europe. Hammer[1] says that the only copy to be found is in the royal library of Vienna, but there is one also in the British Museum. In India it is by no means uncommon, much less so than the difficulty of understanding the work would lead one to suppose. The copy in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is a very clean one, but abounds with errors, and many chapters are recopied towards the close. There is a beautiful copy in the Dehli College, and there is one of surpassing excellence belonging to Maulaví Sadru-d dín, the Sadru-s sudúr of Dehli, written in the Naskh character, apparently about three hundred years ago, by Muhammad bin Muhammad, who professes to have copied it from the author's autograph. The transcriber imitates successfully the style of the work in a chapter at the end, devoted to its praise.

There are also two good copies of the *Táju-l Ma-ásir* in the library of Nawwáb Siráju-l mulk, but so little known and appreciated as to be lettered, one the *Táríkh-i Mahmúd Ghaznivi,* the other *Jahán-kushá;* but all must yield the palm to Nawwáb Zíáu-d dín's copy noticed above, on account of its containing the additional matter, but it must be confessed that the character

[1] *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen,* vol. iv. p. 173.

is not easy to read, and the manuscript is unfortunately damaged by water and worms.

The copy noticed above, which shows the verses in separate lines detached from the prose, contains 570 pages of twenty lines each; the additional matter being comprised in thirty pages.

[The following Abstract was prepared entirely by Sir H. Elliot himself.]

Abstract.

Invasion of Hindustán.

"In the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.), the Lord of *the World, the Sultán of Sultáns, Mu'izzu-d dunyá wau-d dín* (Muhammad Ghorí) *in a happy moment*, and under a fortunate star, departed from Ghazna, *may God protect it from calamities!*

Had he not imparted *movement* to his hands and *reins*,
The feet of his *stirrups* would have *stopped the air* in its course.
If his horse be so wearied that it cannot carry him,
His courage would urge him against his enemies.

Having equipped and set in order the army of Islám, and unfurled the *standards of victory and the flags of power*, trusting in the *aid of the Almighty*, he proceeded *to*wards Hindústán.

His standards proclaim victory,
Indeed, they are almost prepared to write the book of victory,
His *ensigns* and black umbrella are full of adornment,
How beautiful on the face of time are the curls and *freckles* of *the state!*

When the tent of *eternal prosperity, encompassed by splendour, arrived near* Lohúr, and when the *air of* that *country* became *perfumed and crescented* by the dust of *the armies and the shoes of the horses, the great Sadr Kiwámu-l mulk Rúhu-d dín Hamza,* who was among *the chiefs of the country and the renowned of the state,* and had obtained *distinction by the customs of embassage and the proprieties of missions,* and his *position* in the *service* of the *sublime* Court (*may God surround it with increased glory*)! had met with approval, *and in the beauty of his moral character and the excellence* of his endowments, *the above mentioned person, in whose*

merits all concurred, and from *the flame of whose wisdom and the light of whose penetration abundant delight and perfect good fortune* arose.

Indeed all kinds of excellences united in his person,
And he was singularly endowed in the practice of all virtues,
He was such a *Sadr* that *the substance of greatness* found in him *a soul*,
He was *a sea* in which the eyes of *meaning* found *vision*.

Such was the man who was sent on an *embassy* to Ajmír, in order that the Ráí (Pithaurá) of that *country* might see the right way without the *intervention* of the sword, and that he might incline from *the track of opposition into the path of propriety*, leaving his *airy* follies for the *institute* of the knowledge of God, and acknowledging the *expediency of uttering the words of martyrdom and repeating the precepts of the law*, and might abstain from *infidelity and darkness*, which entails *the loss of this world and that to come*, and might place in his ear *the ring* of slavery to the *sublime* Court, (*may God exalt it!*) which is *the centre of justice and mercy, and the pivot of the Sultáns of the world, and* by these *means and modes might cleanse the fords of a good life* from *the sins of impurity.*

When the ambassador arrived in *the country* of Ajmír, and *in accordance with* his orders brought *forward the conditions of his mission*, and in *uttering his speech* presented *the usual inducements of fixing the mind*, and adorned *the selection of his words with the excellence of their significations*, and *strung* well *the pearls of exhortations and admonitions* upon *the thread of style.*

They were such words that if the world were to hear them,
On account of their beauty the people would incline to become ears.

Your *words* are right and your *meaning correct*,
Your *opinion* is the soul and your *greatness the body.*
Your words are the product of the bough of *rhetoric*,
And your *clemency* is the fruit of the seed of eloquence.

In no *respect* did *the words of threats, or promises* become

established in the *heart* of that man of dark *understanding*, nor did *advantages or menaces* addressed to the heart (*and indeed he who menaces offers* the alternative of *advantages*) have place in the *hearing* of that *obstinate*, for from his *large army and grandeur* the *desire of something like* the conquest of the world had raised a *phantom* in his *imagination;* and he remained *neglectful of the subtle principle that armies do not profit when the time has passed,* and he had placed on *the shelf of forgetfulness the good maxim that "when fate comes the field of opportunity is narrowed,"* and had not read *the divine order that "it is a duty imposed on me to give aid to the faithful;"* and in *the sight of* his *idolatry the commands of the law* were *the dreams of oppression, and the light of instruction* showed *the darkness of his perdition,* and since in *the sublime understanding* of the sovereign which *derived aid and support from the world of holiness, and the light of his wisdom exceeds and surmounts that splendour* of the sun and moon.

If his light were to contend with the dawn,
Even his night would exceed the brilliancy of the day.
Gold would not be produced from earth by *the power* of the sun,
Unless his wisdom had *power* over the sun.

When these *circumstances* were *represented, and the intelligence of the declarations of* that *God-forsaken* reached the *blessed hearing, which was filled with gladness, the signs of disturbance* overspread his *auspicious countenance.*

Conquest of Ajmír.

He accordingly prepared for an expedition against the Ráí, and mounted his steed, of which there is a poetical description. "The victorious army on the right and on the left departed towards Ajmír." "When the Kola (natural son) of the Ráí of Ajmír, the vaunts of whose courage had reached the ears of far and near, heard of the approach of the auspicious standards and the victorious armies, he advanced for the purpose of fight-

ing, and having adjusted the robe of slaughter and the arms of battle, marched on over hills and deserts with a well-equipped army, the number which cannot be conceived in the picture-gallery of the imagination."

"When the crow-faced Hindús began to sound their white shells[1] on the backs of the elephants, you would have said that a river of pitch was flowing impetuously down the face of a mountain of blue."

Description and attributes of elephants, spears, and arrows.—The army of Islám was completely victorious, and "an hundred thousand grovelling Hindús swiftly departed to the fire of hell." The Rái of Ajmír was taken prisoner during the action, but his life was spared. After this great victory, the army of Islám marched forward to Ajmír, where it arrived at a fortunate moment and under an auspicious bird, and obtained so much booty and wealth, that you might have said that the secret depositories of the seas and hills had been revealed."

Poetical description of fountains, gardens, birds, and flowers.—While the Sultán remained at Ajmír, "he destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islám, and the customs of the law were divulged and established." The Rái of Ajmír, who had managed to obtain his release, or at least, immunity from punishment, and whose "ancient hatred against the Musulmáns was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart," appears to have been detected in some intrigue, which is only very obscurely indicated, so that orders were issued for his death, and "the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body."

[1] سپید مهره in the original, to which, as no meaning is attached in the dictionaries, I have thought myself warranted in translating thus; but a few pages after this (the fourth instance of their being used), these words cannot bear this meaning, because the instruments in that case were sounded by the Muhammadans, to whom shells are an abomination. In that passage I have called this instrument a kettle-drum, as it resembles a shell in shape.

The Government of Ajmír conferred on the son of Rái Pithaurá.[1]

"The son of Rái Pithaurá, in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude, and prognostications of goodness, was appointed to the government of Ajmír.

* * * * *

The Conquest of Dehli.

After settling the affairs of Ajmír, the conqueror marched "towards Dehli (may God preserve its prosperity and perpetuate its splendour!) which is among the chief (mother) cities of Hind." When he arrived at Dehli, he saw "a fortress which in height and strength had not its equal nor second throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes." The army encamped around the fort. "A torrent of blood flowed on the field of battle, and it became evident to the chiefs that if they did not seek for safety from the sword of the king of the earth, and if they should deliver into the hands of Satan the time of option and the reins of good counsel, the condition of Dehli would be like that of Ajmír; so from the dread of kingly punishment, the Rái and mukaddams of that country placed their heads upon the line of slavery, and their feet within the circle of obedience, and made firm the conditions of tribute (*málguzári*) and the usages of service."

The Sultán then returned "towards the capital of Ghazna (may God preserve it in prosperity!)" but "the army remained encamped within the boundary of Dehli, at the *mauza* of Indarpat (Indraprastha)."

The Government of Kohrám and Sámána.

The Government of the fort of Kohrám and of Sámána were made over by the Sultán to "Kutbu-d dín, on whose fortunate

[1] This is the heading in the original, but in the preceding chapter the name of the Rái is not given. In this it is spelt Pitaurá. There is mention of the son (پسر,) not natural son (كوله) as in the preceding chapter.

forehead the light of world-conquest shone conspicuous," "and who by his lofty courage and pure faith without doubt was worthy of the kingdom and suitable for the throne of sovereignty; and by the aid of his sword of Yemen and dagger of India became established in independent power over the countries of Hind and Sind." "He purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorn of God-plurality, and the impurity of idol-worship, and by his royal vigour and intrepidity, left not one temple standing." "He extinguished the flame of discord by the splendour of the light of justice, and the smoke of the darkness of oppression vanished from the face of the earth."

The chiefs of the country around Kohrám came to pay their respects and acknowledge fealty, and he was so just and generous "that the name of Naushírwán and the tale of Hátim Táí were in course of oblivion."

An assembly is commenced, a feast is held, and the sumptuous preparations described.—The merits of cup-bearers, wine, goblets, companions, flowers, hunting, horses, falcons, panthers, dogs, and huntsmen are poetically eulogized.

The flight of Jatwán and his[1] *Death in Battle.*

"When the honoured month of Ramazán, 588 H., the season of mercy and pardon, arrived, fresh intelligence was received at the auspicious Court, that the accursed Jatwán, having admitted the pride of Satan into his brain, and placed the cup of chieftainship and obstinacy upon his head, had raised his hand in fight against Nusratu-d dín, the Commander, under the fort of Hánsí, with an army animated by one spirit."

Digressions upon spears, the heat of the season, night, the new moon, morning, and the sun.—Kutbu-d dín mounted his horse, and "marched during one night twelve parasangs." "The accursed Jatwán, when he heard the news of the arrival of the

[1] The singular prevails throughout. He was probably a mere leader of the Jat tribe, which still maintains its position in the neighbourhood of this scene of action.

victorious armies, felt himself compelled to depart from under the fort," and fled. "The soldiers of Islám came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bágar; and although Jatwán saw there was no chance of successful opposition in battle, yet as he saw destruction impending on him from the throat of the dragon, and the road for flight was blocked up, and the standards of the State and royal victory were unfurled, yielding to the necessity of the case, and not at his own option," he prepared for fight, and "the noise of the hautbois and shells confounded the world, the thunder of the drums ascended to heaven, and the blast of the brazen clarions resembled the sounding trump (of resurrection.)"

The armies attacked each other "like two hills of steel, and the field of battle became tulip-dyed with the blood of the warriors."—Poetical digression on swords, daggers, spears, and maces. —The Hindús were completely defeated, and their leader slain. "Jatwán, who was the essence of vice and turbulence, and the rod of infidelity and perverseness, the friend of grief, and the companion of shame, had his standards of God-plurality and ensigns of perdition lowered by the hand of power;" "and the dust of the field of battle was commingled with the blood of that God-abandoned wretch, and the whole country was washed from the filth of his idolatry."—Praise of Kutbu-d dín's justice, encouragement of the learned, and his civil administration. Mention of the booty taken by the Musulmáns.—He marched to Hánsí, "and encamped there a few days, in order to repair the fort, and after that returned towards Kohrám, which acquired fresh beauty from his blessed feet."

"The intelligence of this happy victory and these important incidents was divulged over the face of the world, and the noise of it spread to the countries of Hind and Sind, far and near, and proclamations announcing the victory of the chiefs of the State, and the defeat of the enemies of the kingdom were written and despatched to the capital of Ghazna, (may the Almighty preserve it in wealth and prosperity!)" and in them was added "that the

foundation of all this success was the lofty courage and pure faith of his Majesty."

The Capture of Mírat.

"When the chief luminary threw its shade in the sign of Libra, and temperate breezes began to blow, after putting to flight the army of heat," Kutbu-d dín marched from Kohrám, "and when he arrived at Mírat—which is one of the celebrated forts of the country of Hind, for the strength of its foundations and superstructure, and its ditch, which was as broad as the ocean and fathomless—an army joined him, sent by the dependent chiefs of the country." The fort was captured, and a Kotwál appointed to take up his station in the fort, and all the idol temples were converted into mosques.

Capture of Dehli.

He then marched and encamped under the fort of Dehli, which was also captured, "and the standards of the State were also carried into the neighbouring tracts. The conqueror entered the city of Dehli, which is the source of wealth and the foundation of blessedness." The city and its vicinity was freed from idols and idol-worship, and in the sanctuaries of the images of the Gods, mosques were raised by the worshippers of one God."

The Rebellion of Hiraj, Brother of the Rái of Ajmír.

After Kutbu-d dín had settled affairs in this quarter, the chief Sadr, Kiwám-u-l mulk Rúhu-d-dín Hamza, sent him intelligence from Rantanbor, that Hiráj,[1] the brother of the Rái of Ajmír, had gone into rebellion, and "had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Rantanbor," and that the son of Pitaurá, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime Court, was in a state of extreme danger. On receiving this intelligence, Kutbu-d dín appointed the Amír Sábiku-l

[1] Firishta calls him Hemráj, which is a common Indian name. "Hiráj" is not; but it is plainly so written in all the copies. It is probably an abbreviation of the Sanskrit "Dhiráj," a potentate, which is still used on the seals of Hindú Rájás.

mulk Nasru-d dín" to take charge of the affairs of State during his absence, "a man who in knowledge of the rules and customs of government was superior to his contemporaries, and in resolution and courage was celebrated throughout Hind, far and near," and himself departed for Rantanbor, "passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope."

"When Hiráj heard of the arrival of the auspicious standards, knowing he could not contend with the army of Islám, and impelled by necessity, he placed the hands of weakness in the skirts of flight, and for fear of the blade of the scimetar fled like the wind with his resurrectionless army." The conqueror then engaged himself in administering "the ways of justice, and received both high and low under the shadow of his benignity," and the people were happy. "At this time the son of Ráí Pitaurá was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindnesses; and in return for this friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the State, together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds like the full moon."

"About this time they wrote to the heavenly throne, that the Ráí who had fled from Dehli had raised an army of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes, the vapour of pride and conquest having entered his thoughtless brain." Kutbu-d dín pursued him, "and when the wretch was taken, his head was severed from his body and sent to Dehli, which had been his residence and capital." Kutbu-d dín then himself returned to Dehli, and sent "written accounts of his capture of forts and strongholds, and his victories and holy wars" to Ghazna, to which capital he was invited to receive thanks in person from Mu'izzu-d dín Sám Ghorí. The invitation arrived when the sun was in Cancer, and the heat was so great as to prevent travelling, but he set out on his journey at the commencement of the rainy season.

Kutbu-d dín proceeds to Ghazna.

"When the fortunate stirrups reached the capital of Ghazna

(may God shed splendour on it!), he enjoyed the happiness of kissing hands, and received other marks of special favour before the great throne, and in the degree of his rank was raised above all the other chiefs of the world." A festival was held in celebration of his arrival, "and splendid jewels, and valuable clothes, and costly arms, and slaves of great price" were presented to the king.

Kutbu-d dín was accommodated in the garden of the minister Zíáu-l mulk.—Here follow poetical descriptions, of horses, ice, apples, citrons, oranges, cold, wind, and fire.—On the return of the hot season he was taken ill, and "removed from the residence of the minister to the palace of the sovereign, which is the seat of prosperity; but on account of his illness and want of strength, he could not rejoice in his heart with the festivities." On his recovery, he took his leave of the king, and received a patent conferring upon him the government (of Hindustán) "and every one of the principal officers of his army was rejoiced exceedingly, at receiving from his Majesty suitable presents and promotion of rank."

On his arrival at Karmán[1] from the great capital, Táju-d dín Yalduz received him with great kindness and honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage, and a fête was held on the occasion.—Poetical descriptions follow, of stars, female beauty, cup-bearers, curls, cheeks, eyes, lips, mouths, stature, elegance, cups, wine, singers, guitars, barbats, trumpets, flutes, drums, on the morning, and the sun.

Kutbu-d dín returns to Dehli.

When he arrived at Dehli, "which is the capital of the kingdom, and the centre of God's aid and victory, the crown and throne of sovereignty received honour and adornment in his kingly person," "and the lords of the sword and pen hastened to pay their respects at the magnificent Court, and observed the usages of benediction and praise; while the city and its vicinity

[1] This Karmán is in the Bangash country, between Kábul and Banu.

rejoiced and was decorated like the garden of Iram, and the gates and walls were adorned with the gold tissues of Chín and the brocades of Rúm," "and triumphal arches were raised, beautiful to look at, the top of which a strong-winged bird could not surmount, and the glittering of the lightning of the swords and the splendour of the arms, which were suspended on all sides of them, inspired terror in the spirit of the beholder."

Rhapsody upon spring and birds.—Kutbu-d dín built the Jámi' Masjid at Dehli, and "adorned it with the stones and gold obtained from the temples which had been demolished by elephants," and covered it with "inscriptions in Toghra, containing the divine commands."

Kutbu-d dín advances to Kol.

After staying sometime at Dehli, he marched in the year 590 H. (1194 A.D.), towards Kol and Benares, passing the Jún (Jumna) "which, from its exceeding purity, resembled a mirror." He took Kol, "which is one of the most celebrated fortresses of Hind." Those of the garrison "who were wise and acute were converted to Islám," but those who stood by their ancient faith were slain with the sword. "The nobles and chiefs of the State entered the fort, and carried off much treasure and countless plunder, including one thousand horses."

There intelligence was received of the march of Muhammad Ghorí from Ghazna; Kutbu-d dín advanced to meet him, "and had the honor of kissing hands, which is the highest of glories, and the essence of miracles, and presented an elephant laden with white silver and red gold," "and an hundred horses," "and sundry kinds of perfumes."

Fight with the Rái of Benares and Capture of Ásní.

When the army was mustered, it was found to amount to "fifty thousand mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail," with which they advanced to fight against the Rái of Benares. The king ordered Kutbu-d dín to proceed with the vanguard, con-

sisting of one thousand cavalry, which fell upon "the army of the enemies of religion," and completely defeated it. On its return to the king, the officers were presented with robes of honour.

"The Ráí of Benares, Jai Chand, the chief of idolatry and perdition, advanced to oppose the royal troops with an army, countless as the particles of sand," "and the noise of the war-drum proclaimed to the ears of the worshippers of one God, aid comes from the Almighty, and the sound of the silver kettle-drum and the blast of the brazen trumpets resounded to heaven." Rhapsodical description of swords, spears, war-nooses, and archers. "The Ráí of Benares, who prided himself on the number of his forces and war elephants," seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow, and "fell from his exalted seat to the earth." His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander, and "his body was thrown to the dust of contempt." "The impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of the sword from that land, and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition."

"Immense booty was obtained, such as the eye of the beholder would be weary to look at," including one (some copies say three) hundred elephants. The royal army then took possession "of the fort of Ásní where the treasure of the Ráí was deposited," and there much more precious spoil of all kinds rewarded the victors.

The Capture of Benares.

From that place the royal army proceeded towards Benares, "which is the centre of the country of Hind," and here they destroyed nearly one thousand temples, and raised mosques on their foundations; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established;" "and the face of the dínár and the diram was adorned with the name and blessed titles" of the king. The Ráís and chiefs of Hind came forward to proffer their allegiance. "The government of that country was then bestowed on one of the most

celebrated and exalted servants of the State," in order that he might distribute justice and repress idolatry.

When the king had settled all the affairs of the city and its vicinity, and "the record of his celebrated holy wars had been written in histories and circulated throughout the breadth of the fourth inhabited quarter of the world," he returned to Ghazna. "The standards of the Khusrú, victorious in battle,[1] were planted for some days on the fort of Ásní, and the chiefs and elders all around hastened to his service with various kinds of rarities and presents, and his noble Court became the scene where the princes and generals of the world came to bow their heads in reverence."

Kutbu-d dín returns to Kol, and entrusts its Government to Hisámu-d dín 'Ulbak.

There was a certain tribe in the neighbourhood of Kol, which "after the manner of fox playing with lions" had occasioned much trouble by their deceits and stratagems, therefore "by the edge of the sword they were despatched to the fire of hell." "Three bastions were raised as high as heaven with their heads, and their carcases became the food of beasts of prey." "That tract was freed from idols and idol worship, and the foundations of infidelity were destroyed," and all those who were oppressed found protection under the shadow of royal clemency." "The keys of command and prohibition in the kasba of Kol were given to Maliku-l Umará Hisámu-d dín 'Ulbak, one of the chief pillars of the State." Here follows a didactic passage on what he was expected to do as a good governor.

He returns to Dehli.

"When he was at complete leisure from the important concerns of Kol, and the affairs of that neighbourhood had been adjusted by the aid of the kindness of his heart, he turned his face towards the abodes of Dehli, the altar of the prosperity of the worlds," and when he arrived there he administered justice

[1] Kutbu-d dín is usually styled throughout the work خسرو پیروز جنگی

with so much impartiality, that among other results "the wolf and sheep drank water out of the same pond," "and the very mention of thieves and theft, which had before been current on the tongues of every one, fell to the dust."

The Second Visit to Ajmír.

"In the year 589 H. (1193 A.D.) they represented to the Court that Hiráj, the Ráí of Ajmír, having raised the standards of perdition, and fanned the flame of idolatry in his heart, had opened the road of rebellion which he had hitherto closed by his deceit, and that from being exceedingly forsaken by God, he had delivered the reins of vanity into the hands of Satan, and having conceived the ladders of grandeur in his brain, had become proud." "Jíhtar,[1] supported by an army, hastened to the borders of Dehli, and the people were suddenly caught in the darkness of his oppression and turbulence, and the blood and property of the Musulmáns fell into danger and destruction. When the mention of these circumstances was made to the blessed ear of the Khusrú, in a moment of courage and royal determination, he employed himself in the punishment and extinction of the rebel." "He ordered that a portion of his victorious army should be set apart and equipped for his personal service, and that the rest of his army should be detached to the frontiers for the subjection of the accursed, and the destruction of the enemies of the state and religion." Kutbu-d dín marched towards Ajmír in the middle of the hot season, "when the armour on the bodies of the valiant was inflamed by the heat of the sun, and the sword in the scabbard melted like wax," so that he was compelled to make night marches.

"When Jíhtar heard of the approach of the victorious standards, the blackness of sorrow was fixed in his breast," and "knowing that he had not power to oppose them on the field of battle, he tightened the girths of the horse of flight, and sped like the wind out of the net of danger, and arrived at the shore

[1] The name is written "Jíhtar in one MS. and "Jhítar in another.

of safety from the whirlpool of destruction, and from fear of the Khusrú's sword drew his head within the four walls of that strong fortress of Ajmír, like a tortoise," where, in despair, he sacrificed himself in the flames of a pyre, after which the fort, "which was one of the most celebrated in Hind," was easily taken. "The country of Ajmír was restored to the honours of the ancient time and the dignities of its past days, for the circumstances of that province had altogether departed from their former course to which they now reverted," "religion was re-established," "the road of rebellion was closed," "infidelity was cut off, and the foundations of idol-worship were utterly destroyed." The roads were freed from the fear and danger of robbers, and the oppressed subjects were delivered from their distresses." "The blessed lamp was visited by Ráís and Ránas, and the earth was rubbed by the foreheads of the chiefs and celebrated men of Hind." After settling the affairs of Ajmír, Kutbu-d dín returned to Dehli.

Arrival of Sultán Muhammad Ghori in Hindustán.

When Kutbu-d dín heard of the Sultán's march from Ghazna, he was much rejoiced, and advanced as far as Hánsí to meet him, and "had the honour of kissing hands, and being distinguished above all the princes of the earth by the endless favours which were lavished on him." In the year 592, H. (1196 A.D.), they marched towards Thangar,[1] and the centre of idolatry and perdition became the abode of glory and splendour, and when the ropes of the royal tent were raised to heaven, the neighbourhood was tinged with an hundred hues by the varied coloured tents which were erected round that fortress, which resembled a hill of iron." "By the aid of God, and by the means of courage and the daily increasing prosperity of the king, that strong castle was taken, which had hitherto remained closed to all the sovereigns and princes of the world."

[1] The text of Firishta says "Thangar, which is now called Biána."

"Kuwar Pál,[1] the Ráí of Thangar, who had prided himself on the numbers of his army and the strength of his castle, when he saw the power of the army opposed to him, fear invaded his breast, and he begged for safety for his life, and, like a slave, kissed the face of the earth with the very roots of his teeth." Upon which he was pardoned and admitted into favour, and, though with the loss of his kingdom, was content that his life was left to him." "The Musulmáns, and *harbis*, and *zimmis* entered into conditions for paying revenue. The country was purified from the defilement of infidelity, and no opportunity remained for opposition and rebellion."

"The government of Thangar was conferred on Baháu-d dín Tughril," "who was acquainted with matters of administration, and the customs of setting soldiers in array," and who received advice and instruction from his majesty how to comport himself properly in his new appointment.

The Capture of Gwáliár.

When the affairs of this tract was settled, the royal army marched, in the year 592 H., (1196 A.D.) "towards Gálewár (Gwáliár), and invested that fort, which is the pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind, the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below cannot reach, and on the bastion of which the rapid clouds have never cast their shade, and which the swift imagination has never surmounted, and at the height of which the celestial sphere is dazzled."—Description of swords and other military weapons.—"In compliance with the divine injunction of holy war, they drew out the bloodthirsty sword before the faces of the enemies of religion. That sword was coloured of cærulean blue, which from its blazing lustre resembled a hundred thousand Venuses and Pleiades, and it was a well-tempered horse-shoe of fire, which with its wound exhibited the peculiarity of lightning and thunder; and in the perfect weapon the extreme of sharpness lay hid, like (poison in)

[1] [Sir H. Elliot writes the name thus, but his MS. has only "Kú Pál."]

the fangs of a serpent; and (the water of the blade) looked like ants creeping on the surface of a diamond;" and so forth.

"Ráí Solankh Pál who had raised the standard of infidelity, and perdition, and prided himself on his countless army and elephants, and who expanded the fist[1] of oppression from the hiding place of deceit, and who had lighted the flame of turbulence and rebellion, and who had fixed the root of sedition and enmity firm in his heart, and in the courtyard of whose breast the shrub of tyranny and commotion had shot forth its branches, when he saw the power and majesty of the army of Islám," he became alarmed and dispirited. "Wherever he looked, he saw the road of flight blocked up." He therefore "sued for pardon, and placed the ring of servitude in his ear," and agreed to pay tribute, and sent ten elephants as a peace offering, in which he was graciously admitted to protection, and was allowed to retain his fort. "When the neighbouring country was freed from the enemies of religion, and the Ráí of Hind became enrolled amongst the number of servants and friends," the Sultán prepared to return to Ghazna, and Kutbu-d dín, after his departure, returned to Dehli, where festivities were celebrated on his arrival.—Praise of wine-bibbing and cup-bearers.

The Conquest of Nahrwála, and the Flight of the Ráí.

In the year 591 H. (1195 A.D.), when Kutbu-d dín was again at Ajmír, intelligence was brought him that a party of seditious Mhers, "who were always shooting the arrow of deceit from the bow of refractoriness," had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwála, representing that a detachment of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmír, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them, before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them, and might rid the country of

[1] Hammer (*Gemäld.*, iv. 181,) translates "den Spannring des Bogens der Umbill zum Daumring gemacht;" for which I see no authority in the original.

them, and if anyone of the Turkish army were to escape from the talons of the eagle of death, he must necessarily take the road of flight, and with his two horses would make three stages into one, until he reached Dehli in a state of distraction."

When this treacherous plan was revealed, Kutbu-d dín determined to anticipate it, and during the height of the hot season "before the sun arose, fell upon the advance guard of the black infidels, and like lions attacked them right and left." The action lasted during the whole day, and next morning that immense army of Nahrwála came to the assistance of the vanguard, slew many of the Musulmáns, wounded their commander, pursued them to Ajmír, and encamped within one parasang of that place.

In this predicament, a confidential messenger was sent to Ghazna[1] "to explain before the sublime throne the position of the army of the infidels, and to ask for orders as to future proceedings." "A royal edict was issued conferring all kinds of honours and kindnesses upon the Khusrú, and leaving to his entire discretion the subjection and extirpation of the turbulent." A very large army was despatched to reinforce him, under the command of Jahán Pahlawán, Asadu-d dín Arslán Kalij, Nasíru-d dín Husain, 'Izzu-d dín son of Muwaiyidu-d dín Balkh, and Sharfu-d dín Muhammad Jarah." These reinforcements arrived at the beginning of the cold season, when "the vanguard of the army of winter began to draw its sword from the scabbard, and the season of collecting armies and the time of making raids had returned."

"In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (Jan., 1197), the world-conquering Khusrú departed from Ajmír, and with every description of force turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rái of Nahrwála." When he reached the lofty forts of Pálí and Nandúl,[2] he found them abandoned, and the abode of

[1] In the latter half of the work the spelling is usually Ghaznín.

[2] Hammer (*Gemäld.* iv. 184,) following Briggs (*Ferishta* I. 196) reads "Bali and Nadole." They assume various forms in different manuscripts,—"Rabí and Bartakí, Nadúl and Nazúl." There are places between Ajmír and Mount A'bú, which correspond to the names given in the the text. The lithographed edition of Ferishta (I. 108) reads "Dhútalí and Bazúl."

owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmáns, and had collected under their leaders Ráí Karan and Dárábars, in great numbers "at the foot of Mount Ábú, and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musulmáns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultán Muhammad Sám Ghorí had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindús seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, "turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown;" for "they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion." "The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabí'u-l awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islám advanced from its camp, and at morn reached the position of the infidels." A severe action ensued from dawn to mid-day, when "the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level." Ráí Karan effected his escape from the field. "More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants, and cattle and arms beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the victors." "You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession."

"The city of Nahrwála, which is the most celebrated in that country, full of rivers," and the kingdom of Gujarát, which is "a separate region of the world," came under the dominion of the Musulmáns, "and high and low were treated with royal benignity and justice." "The chief nobles and pillars of the State were favoured with handsome robes of honour, and received abundant proofs of royal kindness," then "the standards of the

Khusrú, victorious in battle, returned to Ajmír," whence they were moved towards Dehli, where they arrived at an auspicious moment. As an earnest of his regard and respect, Kutbu-d dín sent to Ghazna treasures and various rarities, which were received by his majesty with suitable acknowledgments of the value and splendour of his general's services.

Capture of the Fort of Kálinjar.

In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutbu-d dín proceeded to the investment of Kálinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the Sáhib-Kirán, Shamsu-d dín Altamsh. Encomiums on both warriors follow through several pages. "The accursed Parmár," the Ráí of Kálinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and "placed the collar of subjection" round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmúd Subuktigín, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Díwán, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. "On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty," "and the fort of Kálinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander" was taken. "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated." "Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindús." Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors.

"The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahobá, and the government of Kálinjar was conferred on Hazabbaru-d dín Hasan Arnal. When Kutbu-d dín was satisfied with all the arrangements made in that quarter, he went towards Badáún,[1] "which is one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind."

The Visit of Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí and the Return of of Kutbu-d dín to Dehli.

Shortly afterwards, "Ikhtiyáru-d dín Muhammad Bakhtiyár, one of the chief supports of the State, the splendour of Islám, and celebrated throughout Hind for his religious wars, joined the auspicious stirrups and came to pay his respects from the direction of Oudh and Behár." "He presented twenty elephants and various kinds of jewels and moneys." "He was received with royal kindness and beneficence, and he was exalted above the leaders of the time;" and when he took his audience of leave, the blessed commands, investing him with authority, were renewed and augmented, and a tent, a *naubat*, a drum, a standard, and magnificent robe of honour, a horse and trappings, a waistband, sword, and a vest from the private wardrobe were conferred upon him."

"In a fortunate moment, and under an auspicious bird, the blessed standards were waved, and directed towards Dehli, the capital of prosperity and the altar of excellence."—Rhapsody on Kutbu-d dín's justice.

The Return of Muhammad Ghori from Khwárizm and his War against the Gakkhurs.

When the sublime standards were returning in the year 600 H. (1203 A.D.) from the capital of Khwárizm, the army of Khitá (God's curse on it!) made an attack upon them, while on their

[1] Hammer (*Gemäld.* iv. 185) following Briggs (*Ferishta* I. 198) places Badáún between the Ganges and the Jamna, for which there is no authority in the original It is in Rohilkhand, to the east of the Ganges.

march within the borders of Andkhúd, in numbers exceeding the stars of heaven and the particles of the earth, and the great king, wounded and defeated, fled from the field of hatred towards Ghazna."

"Aibak Bák, one of the most confidential servants of the State, an officer of high rank in the army, who had been brought up in the royal court, fled from the field of battle, and carried away the impression that by heavenly visitation, the blessed person of the king had met with a misfortune and been slain. He fled with the speed of the wind to Multán, and, on his arrival, went immediately to Amír Dád Hasan, the lord of a standard, and deceit fully persuaded him that he had come for the purpose of imparting to him a royal command, which could only be communicated to him in private, and should not be publicly divulged." When the private conference was accorded to him, he took the opportunity of assassinating the governor, and so got possession of the fort of Multán. "For a long time the truth of the matter was not revealed, and a report was spread to the effect that the governor had been imprisoned by the royal commands. After some delay, the various servants and officers of the Province became aware of what had really happened, and the intelligence of the true circumstances was spread throughout the far and near countries of Hind and Sind. Upon this, the tribe of Kokars (Gakkhurs) (God annihilate them!) said that from any one who had the least knowledge and sense, it could not be concealed that if the sacred person of the Sultán had been alive, the like of these transactions could never have been done by Aibak Bák, and that therefore the great king had exchanged his throne of empire for one of dust, and had departed from the house of mortality to the world of holiness. In consequence of these impressions, seditious thoughts entered the brains of the Hindús, and the madness of independence and dominion affected the heads of Bakan and Sarkí, the chiefs of the Kokars, who thrust their heads out of the collar of obedience, and opened their hands for the destruction of villages and the plunder of cattle, and kindled the flames of tur-

bulence and sedition between the waters of the Sodra[1] and the Jelam, by the aid of a crowd of the dependants of Satan." "When their ravages had exceeded all bounds, Baháu-d dín Muhammad, governor of Sangwán, with his brothers, who held lands (*aktá'*) within the borders of Multán, accompanied by many of the chief people of the city, marched out against them, determined to repress the violence of those accursed rebels and enemies of the State and religion; but many of them were captured or slain by the exertions of the army of the infidels, in number like the drops of rain or leaves of the forest. Their power consequently increased day by day, and a general named Sulaimán was obliged to fly before the superior numbers of the enemy." When these circumstances were reported to Muhammad Ghorí, he determined on proceeding to the scene of action, and sent on the Amír Hájib, Siráju-d dín Abú Bakr, one of his confidential servants, to inform Kutbu-d dín of his intentions. In consequence of which, Kutbu-d dín advanced to meet his Majesty, at the opening of the cold season. "At every stage intelligence reached him from the royal camp, urging his advance, and informing him that the blood-thirsty sword would be sheathed, and the camp would halt, and that no measures would be taken to exterminate the infidels, until he had passed the river (Chináb) which intervened between his and the royal camp."

"Near the river of Sodra, Kutbu-d dín killed four fierce tigers, at the roaring of which the heart was appalled," and on the day after crossing that river, he joined the camp of the king on the bank of the Jelam, and was received with royal kindness. "They mounted their horses and swam them like fish across the Jelam," "and on the bank of the river entered on their plans for the approaching action, and arranged all the preparations for fight, after joining together in consultation." Kutbu-d dín suggested

[1] Hammer (*Gemäld.* iv. 183) says, "the river of Sodra, which, flowing by Siálkot, Sodra, and Wazírábád, discharges itself into the Chináb." But there is no such stream. The Sodra is the Chináb itself, so called from the old town of that name on its eastern bank.

that it was not right for the king to expose his person against such enemies, and suggested that the command of the Musulmán army should be entrusted to himself alone; but the persuasion of his general seem to have had no effect upon the resolution of the Sultán.—Description of the battle near the ford of the Jelam, the waves of which were filled with blood, and in which "the armies of infidelity and true faith commingled together like waves of the sea, and contended with each other like night and day, or light and darkness." Shamsu-d dín was also engaged in this fight.—Extravaganzas upon spears and other weapons, and upon war-horses.

The Kokars were completely defeated, and, "in that country there remained not an inhabitant to light a fire." "Much spoil in slaves and weapons, beyond all enumeration, fell into the possession of the victors." One of the sons of the Kokar Ráí, the chief instigator of these hostilities, rushed into the river with "a detachment of his Satanical followers, and fled with one horse from the field of battle to a fort on the hill of Júd, and having escaped the sword, threw into it the last breathings of a dying man." The next day, Muhammad Sám advanced towards the hill of Júd, when the action was renewed, which ended in the capture of the fortress, "and the Hindús like a torrent descended from the top of the hill to the bottom." "The Ráí of the hill of Júd, putting on the robes of a Brahman, presented himself like a slave, and kissed the face of the earth before the Sultán," by whom he was admitted to pardon. Immense booty was taken in the fort.

The Sultán then advanced to Lahore, accompanied by Kutbu-d dín and the chief officers of State, and on Kutbu-d dín's taking his audience of leave, before his return to Dehli, he received a dress of honour and an affectionate farewell.

Death of the Sultán of Sultáns, Muhammad Sám.

On the king's return from Lahore towards Ghazní, he had fixed his camp "within the borders of Dhamek, and his tent was

pitched on the bank of a pure stream in a garden filled with lilies, jasmins," and other flowers. Here while he was engaged in his evening prayer, "some impious men (God's curse and destruction on them!) came running like the wind towards his majesty, the king of the world, and on the spot killed three armed attendants and two chamber-sweepers. They then surrounded the king's own tent, and one or two men out of these three or four conspirators, ran up towards the king, and inflicted five or six desperate wounds upon the lord of the seven climes, and his spirit flew above the eight paradises and the battlements of the nine heavens, and joined those of the ten evangelists."

A long elegy follows upon his death. His body was carried to Ghazna. "When this dreadful intelligence was conveyed to the lion-hearted Khusrú," he was deeply distressed, and, "when he was alone, streams of blood coursed down the face of his cheeks."

Allegiance of the Nobles to Kutbu-d dín, and his Confirmation in the Kingdoms of Hind and Sind.

"For the consolation and satisfaction of the distant provinces, the auspicious mandates were issued to the different quarters of both sea and land," and the nobles and dependants of the Court came forward to offer their allegiance, and "the carpet of his audience-chamber was kissed by the Ráís of Hind and the Khusrús of Chín." "The keys of direction and prohibition in the capital of Ghazna fell into the hands of his officers, after the flight of Táju-d dín Yalduz, and the whole country of Hind, from Pershaur to the shores of the ocean, and in the other direction, from Siwistán to the borders of the hills of Chín, came into the power of his servants and under the dominion of the executors of his orders." "The public prayers and coinage of dínárs and dirhams thoughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honour and embellishment from his name and royal titles," and Lohúr, where the throne of Sultáns had been established, and which was the altar of the good and pious, became

the capital." "By his orders, the precepts of Islám received great promulgation, and the sun of righteousness cast its shadow on the countries of Hind from the heaven of God's assistance." —Happy results of the king's mercy and justice.

Death of the Sultán of Sultáns "by a fall from his horse while playing the game of chaugán, and his burial at Lahore," like a treasure in the bowels of the earth.—An elegy upon his death.

Accession of Shamsu-d dín.

"In the year 607 H. (1210 A.D.), the throne of the kingdoms of Hindustán received honour and embellishment from Shamsu-d dín wau-d dunyá the Emperor of Turk and 'Ajam, Abú-l Muzaffar Altamsh."

Revolt of the Turks in the City of Dehli.

"Sirjándár Turkí, who was the leader of all sedition, and who opened his hand to shed the blood of Musulmáns, with an army of bloodthirsty Turks broke out into open rebellion. Although the Sultán was frequently requested to repress their violence, he "refrained for several days" from doing so. At last, he determined to oppose them with a large army, headed "by the chiefs of the time, such as 'Izzu-d dín Bakhtiyár, Nasíru-d dín Mardán Sháh, Hazabbaru-d dín Ahmad Súr, and Iftikháru-d dín Muhammad 'Umar, all valiant warriors."

"This army, assaulting like fire and moving like the wind, was drawn out in battle array like a hill of iron, near the Bágh-i Jún (the Jamna Garden)."—Hyperboles on battle, arms, and slaughter.

Aksankar Kitta and Táju-d dín Farrukh Sháh were slain in battle, but Sirjándár Turkí "threw himself into the waters of the Jún, took to flight like a fox in fear of a lion, and departed by the way of river and hill like a crocodile and a leopard, and, starting and trembling, concealed himself in the jungles and forests, like a sword in a scabbard, or a pen in a writing-box," and all their followers were either killed or dispersed.

Capture of Jálor.

After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jálewar (Jálor) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shamsu-d dín accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the State, such as Ruknu-d dín Hamza, 'Izzu-d dín Bakhtiyár Nasíru-d dín Mardán Sháh, Nasíru-d dín 'Alí and Badru-d dín Saukartigín," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror[1] on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jálewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Udí Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jálewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shamsu-d dín, Udí Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultán granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Ráí presented respectfully an hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service." The Sultán then returned to Delhi, "which is the capital of prosperity and the palace of glory," and after his arrival, "not a vestige or name remained of the idol temples which had reared their heads on high; and the light of faith

[1] This was probably made of burnished steel, and must have been placed as a protection over the most vulnerable part of the elephant. Shortly afterwards, the author styles this plate "a Chinese mirror."

shone out from the darkness of infidelity, like the sun from a curtain of sorrow, or after its emerging from an eclipse,[1] and threw its shade over the provinces of Hind and Sind, the far and near countries of idolatry; and the moon of religion and the State became resplendent from the heaven of prosperity and glory."—Praise of Islám, justice and courage.

Defeat of the army of Ghazna, and seizure of Táju-d dín Yalduz.

"When the beautiful Canopus arose, and the vanguard of winter put the centre of the army of summer to flight," it entered into the royal determination "to destroy some tribe of the accursed infidels, or to move the auspicious standards for the purpose of capturing some city in the land of Hind." "In the midst of these reflections, messengers arrived frequently from Táju-d dín, who had admitted into his brain the wind of pride and the arrogance of dominion," charged with the delivery of ridiculous propositions, which the Sultán was incensed to listen to. Shamsu-d dín resolved to oppose his pretensions by force, and advanced with a large army to Sámánd, which he reached on Monday, the 3rd of Shawwál, 612 H. (Jan., 1216), and on his arrival was attacked by the advanced guard of Malik Táju-d dín. During the action, the enemy suddenly came up towards the left wing of the auxiliaries of the faith, and desired to raise up a disturbance with their "watered blades, and to practice their deceits after the manner of of foxes playing with lions, and with the absurd idea that they could thus take the countries of Hind and Sind."—Then follows a description of the battle, which is described in terms peculiar to chess, with the introduction of hyperboles upon swords, dirks, maces, war-nooses, horsemen, horse-archers, arrows, spears, elements, justice, and stars.—Táju-d dín was wounded by an arrow shot by Muwaiyidu-l Mulk, and was subsequently taken prisoner and brought before Shamsu-d dín.

[1] This implies a temporary revival of the Hindú power, which may have occurred under the unconverted rebel Turks who are represented as having shed the blood of Musulmáns.

The Flight of Násiru-d dín and Conquest of Lahore.

"After some time, the great lord Muwaiyidu-l Mulk Muhammad Junaidí was appointed Wazír."—Encomium on his merits.—It was represented to his Majesty, that Malik Násiru-d dín "had placed his former engagements under the water of forgetfulness," "and that in the receipts and disbursements of the account of his tribute he had incurred debt and balance," "and that all the excellent advice that was offered to him was valued as so much dirt." His Majesty accordingly, in a fortunate moment, marched in the beginning of Jumáda-l ákhir from Dehli, "may God protect it! (for its water and soil have always been mild and favourable to various temperaments, and its fire and wind have at all times been suitable and agreeable to the disposition of everybody.") He marched with a large army towards the country of Lohúr, of which when the enemy became aware "they began to be greatly agitated like fish upon dry land, and like water-fowl sought protection from the waters of the Biyáh," "on the banks of which stream they encamped with an army innumerable as ants and locusts."

"On the fourteenth of the month of Shawwál, the victorious standards advanced with the whole army in battle array, from the borders of Lorúh to the ford at the village of Chamba." "Wind-footed they swam across the river, in comparison of which the Oxus and Jaxartes looked like a fountain."

When Násiru-d dín "saw the victorious army cross that foaming stream without the aid and means of boats," he fled in alarm, "turning his face from the battle and slaughter" towards Lohúr, whither he was pursued by the victorious army" which could not see a trace of the dust raised by their swift-flying horses."—His standards, drums, and camp equipage, besides immense booty, fell into the hands of the Royalists. The defeated general afterwards continued his flight "by the road of U'ch."

Shamsu-d dín arrived at Lohúr, "which is among the mothers of the countries of religion, and among the chiefs of the pro-

vinces of Islám, and the abode and repose of the excellent and pious, and which for some days, on account of a number of calamities, and changes of governors, and the sedition of rebels, had been distracted by the flames of turbulence and opposition, and was now again reduced to order by the breath of the zephyr of his justice." The captives who were taken in battle were pardoned, and after writing accounts of the victory and despatching them in various directions, Shamsu-d dín returned to Dehli.

Prince Násiru-d dín appointed Governor of Lahore.

In the beginning of 614 H. (1217 A.D.), the government of Lohúr was committed to the king's son, Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, and the advice which was given to him as to the mode of conducting his administration is given at length.—Description of festivities, with a repetition of rhetorical flourishes about beauties, cups, goblets, stars, locks, mouths, singers, companions, horses, hawks, dogs, tigers, horses, arrows, forts, and the game of chaugán, at which the king recreates himself.

The Capture of Bhakkar.

This portion of the work opens with praise of God and king, upon whom Almighty favours are showered, as is testified by his conquest of Kálewar (Gwalior), Rantanbhor, and Mandúr,[1] Kanauj, Behár, and Bárah, and his subjection of powerful Ráís, and by his spreading the knowledge of Islám as far as the ocean; and amongst other arrangements made by which good government was secured, "an account of the proceedings of the king was written according to dates so as to form a model for the kings and Sultáns." The forts of U'ch Multán "which were stronger than the wall of Alexander" were also taken "in a manner which astonished the world," and while he was engaged in these conquests, it was reported to the king that Malik Násiru-d dín Kubácha, who was proud and arrogant, and "who regarded in his cruelty and unkindness the people of God as less than rubbish,"

1 [Or Mandawar, in the Siwâlik hills. See *infra*, *Tabakát-i Násirí*.

"and out of his own pleasure and drunkenness would roast even hearts and draw tears of blood from the eyes," had fortified himself within the strong fort of Bhakkar, "the eye of the forts and the face of the kingdom of Hind," "and which had not been taken by any Khusrú," and in which were deposited immense treasures.

Upon receiving this information, Shamsu-d dín despatched his minister Khwája-i Jahán Nizámu-l Mulk Muhammad Junaidí with a large army to Bhakkar, in the very height of the hot weather. Part of the army marched by land "a difficult road through the jungles," and part went by water. After the fort was invested, and the enemy was reduced to extremities, Násiru-d dín despatched his son 'Aláu-d dín Muhammad to Shamsu-d dín with an hundred lacs of Dehliwáls,[1] and thousands of suits of clothes. The Sultán received him kindly, but would not allow him to return, in consequence of which, Násiru-d dín became much alarmed and ill, "and his head was bowed down to his knees like a violet, with his eyes of expectation open like a narcissus," and he "wailed like Jacob for the absence of Joseph."

Násiru-d dín shortly after died of grief, "and the boat of his life was drowned in the whirlpool of death," "though he left behind him nearly a thousand boats" which could render no service to him.[2] The result of his death was that "more than five hundred lacs of Dehliwáls, various kinds of inlaid articles and jewels, and pearls exceeding white, and costly garments were deposited in the royal treasury of Shamsu-d dín," and possession was also taken of "twelve celebrated forts, which had never been before captured," "and Siwistán and Lúk (Lakkí) as far as the shores of the sea;" "and the coinage was struck, and the prayers read in his auspicious name throughout all the countries of Hindústán and the provinces of Kusdár and Makrán." He returned to Dehli on the 14th of Rabí'u-l awwal, 624 H.

[1] Coins of the period struck at Dehli, composed of a mixture of silver and copper. See E. Thomas, *Coins of Patán Sultáns of Hindustán*, pp. 10, 11; and Jour. R. A. S. *N. S.* II. p. 149.

[2] [See *supra*, page 201.]

Arrival of a dress of investiture from the 'Abbási Khalífa.

After some time a dress of honour was received from the Imám Mustansirbi-llah by the Sultán at Dehli, accompanied by a diploma confirming him in the kingdom of Hindústán, with the title of the great Sultán. He received the diploma with deep respect, and appointed the following day, namely the 23rd Rabí'u-l awwal, 626 H. (Feb. 1229 A.D.) for a general assembly, in which the farmán was read out in the presence of the King, the princes, and nobles. It declared that he was confirmed in the possession "of all the land and sea which he had conquered." Robes were bestowed upon the ambassadors, the chiefs, and nobles, in honour of the event, and great joy prevailed upon the occasion throughout the capital.